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LABOUR MONTHLY
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Andrew Rothstein
RPD—Memories and Reflections

Syd Bidwell MP
Shrewsbury Lobby

Peter Nicholas
The Right to Work

RPD Memorial Tributes
From Hugh Scanlon
Cheddi Jagan, Betty Sinclair
Britain, US, India, USSR
and other countries

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LABOUR MONTHLY

Associate Editor: R. Page Arnot Managing Editor: Nicola Seyd

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Our journal, its thousands of readers and supporters in many countries and the working class movement in Britain as a whole have suffered a great loss in the death of Rajani Palme Dutt on December 20, 1974.

Editor since the foundation of Labour Monthly *in 1921, an outstanding theoretician of Marxism-Leninism, a political working class leader of the first magnitude, a devoted friend of the oppressed in the colonial countries, R. Palme Dutt was unique.*

Nevertheless, this journal to which he devoted so much of his life remains his heritage to us as well as his memorial. Its work as a champion of left unity, national and international, must and will go on. The Editorial Board, sure of the support of all our readers, give this pledge.

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RPD—MEMORIES AND REFLECTIONS

Andrew Rothstein

'A PERSON who was on my staircase last term is R. P. Dutt. He was a scholar, and last summer got shoved into jail as a CO, but was afterwards released and still comes up to college occasionally' (February 2, 1917).... 'Talked with Dutt. He was a socialist objector, not a pacifist*' (April 4, 1917).... 'On Saturday evening I was at a meeting of the Socialist Society ... R. P. Dutt, the Balliol scholar who was in prison last year as a CO and is their leading light now, made a speech saying that we were approaching the servile state, and ought to go back to the good old revolutionary Marxian, Jacobin uncompromising struggle for liberty' (May 29, 1917).

These extracts from letters home recording first impressions on a boy of 18, freshly arrived at Balliol with a scholarship but brought up in a 'hard-shell' Social-Democratic Federation family, were unforgettable, just because Dutt was so different from the other undergraduates (even those who accepted socialism), in the harsh circumstances of the middle of the first world war. I was called up six weeks later, and so heard nothing of his speech at a private meeting of students in October, denouncing the war on Marxist lines and supporting the Bolsheviks in the final stage of their struggle with the Kerensky government then still ruling Russia. It was one of the first things I learned on coming back in January 1919, together with the fact that because a group of super-'patriotic' hearties had attacked and broken up the meeting it was not they who had been sent down from Oxford, but Dutt.

It was but the first of many such occasions on which there stand out in my memory Raji's inflexible determination to make the sharp revolutionary Marxist analysis of class issues involved, and not prevailing emotions, decide his position, whatever be the consequences. So it was on the outbreak of the second world war, so it was at the time of the Chinese attack on India.

For him the class struggle was to be judged always in its world-wide setting, nothing narrower: and this setting from 1917 onwards was that of the parallel existence of and conflict between the world of capitalism and that of the beginning world of socialism, exemplified

* In the first world war, conscription came into effect in March 1916. The majority of COs—conscientious objectors—took their stand on pacifist or religious grounds; but there were a number of socialists who refused to take part in a capitalist war.

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in the state established by the victorious workers of Russia. Difficulties, errors, excesses in the Soviet Union—all those 'birthmarks' inherited from ugly capitalist society of which Marx wrote in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* a hundred years ago—were for Raji always to be set against the gigantic historic fact of the proletariat leading the people of one great country in the building of the socialist order without exploitation and against the exploiters, foreign as well as native. Alike in the first articles he wrote in the *Communist*, the weekly organ of the Communist Party after August 1920, and in his famous 'Notes of the Month' in this journal over the next half-century, this conclusion from Marx's historical materialism—that support of the world's first socialist state against all its enemies, by whatever name they call themselves, is the unquestionable duty of all claiming the title of socialist, let alone that of Marxist-Leninist—was Raji's unswerving principle. The echo of his stand of October 1917, rings out again in his 'Notes' of December 1974, the month of his death:

> The unique character of the first socialist revolution as an achievement without previous parallel in human history, eclipsing all the previous greatest, but relatively short-lived revolutions, has become increasingly manifest. 57 years after the victorious socialist revolution in 1917 which founded the Soviet Republic as the first socialist state in history, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics carries forward its continuous existence and maintains its essential basis of socialist working class power won by the victory of November 1917, developing this to further manifold forms of extended participation of all sections of the working people in all the affairs of state.

He added his tribute to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for continuing 'to fulfil the role of leadership' which had brought the working class and its allies to triumph in 1917, and which today, in the midst of current problems, goes on preparing the conditions for transition 'from the present stage of an advanced socialist society towards the future objective of communism.' Raji after the end of the first world war had drawn the inspiration from this example—however different the historical circumstances of Russia and Britain—which carried him forward from the Independent Labour Party in the war years to the Communist Party of which he became a foundation member in 1920. Communists of an older generation cannot but remember with gratitude his most detailed and conscientious work, together with Harry Pollitt and Harry Inkpin, on the Party Commission of 1922, which brought about the fundamental reorganisation of the Communist Party and enabled it to emerge unshaken through a host of subsequent trials and troubles. More-

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over, Dutt was the first British journalist to have transformed the traditional socialist periodical familiar since the 1880s, a budget of articles, into a journal built up primarily out of workers' letters and news reports of their struggles in various fields, supplemented by comments on national and international affairs—the *Workers' Weekly* of 1924 onwards, the model carried on by the *Morning Star* today.

In March 1920, came his first book, *The Two Internationals*, written in his capacity as secretary of the International Section of the Labour Research Department. It was the first to reprint in its entirety in Britain the historic manifesto of the initial Congress of the Communist International in 1919, which, irrespective of the different trends existing then as they do today, for the first time acquainted the advanced workers and socialists of all countries with the fundamental picture of the crimes and crisis of imperialism, as it stood at the end of the first world war. The analysis devoted special attention to the nature of colonial slavery, and to the opportunities for its overthrow created by the establishment of the rule of the working class in Russia. The struggle against imperialism became one of the major guiding lines of Dutt's thought. From the beginnings of the *Labour Monthly* in 1921 and up to the very last issue which he edited, the exposure of the horrors of imperialism and its modern forms of neo-colonialism, the vital necessity for the socialist movement of the more developed countries to join in the fight against them, side by side with the incomparable aid which the USSR and other socialist countries were giving to the various revolutionary struggles of the still oppressed peoples, were a dominant theme. And there were no serious revolutionaries from these countries, whether bourgeois, socialist or communist, who did not seek the opportunity of consulting Dutt about their problems, when they had the chance. His travel notes on a visit to India, printed in *Labour Monthly* in 1946, give only a hint of this. But his books, notably *India Today* (1940), *Britain's Crisis of Empire* (1949) and *Problems of Contemporary History* (1963) bear witness to the predominance of the anti-imperialist struggle in his theoretical as well as his practical work.

The first of his books had been a painstaking if brief attempt to explain the background of the attitudes on war adopted by the Second International before 1914, what happened to it during the first world war, the emergence of the Communist International and the positions taken up by the various socialist parties in the immediate post-war years. In the bibliography Dutt wrote: 'There is no standard work on the Socialist International as a whole.' Some attempts were

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made in after years to fill this gap, but with only partial success. Raji himself met the need, over 40 years later, in his book *The International* (1964): and it was no accident that he was called upon to make an important contribution to the *Outline History of the Communist International* produced by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the USSR (English edition 1971). However, one can safely say that over these fifty years no journal in the English language anywhere has provided such a sustained series of individual studies of working class history in many countries, past and present, as has *Labour Monthly* under his editorship. This has held true from the very first issue, in which Dutt wrote in the first editorial: 'The situation of labour in any country has become a part of a general international situation, and it is only comprehensible in relation to it.'

The month was July 1921: burning questions for British labour at home were Black Friday—the defeat from within of the Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers, pledged to stand up against the attack of the coalowners and the Lloyd George government—and the consequent capitalist offensive against the whole trade union movement. The problems created by these events were to dominate the British working class movement for many a year, and they were the basic reason why that movement, instead of going on from the heights it reached in the immediate post-war years, 1919 and 1920, was driven back to engage in a far-reaching effort of self-study and self-criticism. That effort, in altered forms and with a vastly wider wealth of experience (especially of a series of Labour governments between 1924 and 1974), is still going on. To this study Raji also made his memorable contribution, from his *Socialism and the Living Wage* of 1927 (when capitalism and Toryism were making the most of the betrayal of the general strike in 1926), his *Fascism and Social Revolution* of 1934 (at a time when the most militant section of the British capitalist class was 'pushing' fascism upon the British people for all it was worth) and to the books already mentioned. But above all the 'Notes of the Month', these 53 years, have provided an unequalled encyclopaedia of British working class history, viewed and with lessons drawn from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. Nor was it only politics and economics in the strictest sense that constantly aroused Raji's interest and his suggestions for articles. On many other sides of human activity—social, literary and artistic, as the pages of the journal will reveal to the inquirer—the opinions of sympathetic specialists were asked, and not asked in vain.

Indeed from very early on Dutt conducted *Labour Monthly* in a

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spirit of unity of all who were prepared to take a stand on socialist and internationalist principle, whatever the party card they carried. Again and again members of the General Council of the TUC and other trade union leading bodies, leaders of the Labour Party and other parties, found a common ground with Communists in such causes within the pages of the journal. Examples of this were the discussions on a new policy for the unions (1924) and on international trade union unity (1924-25), the *Labour Monthly* conferences for a common front of all sections of the working class against the growing war danger (1932, 1935 and 1937), the initiation of the People's Convention (1941), the discussions on 'The Arts Today' (1967-68), on the trade unions and government (1969), on the Common Market (1971) and others. These symposia, conferences and other forms of friendly debate on questions of moment for British labour made their mark on working class thinking, as the agendas of numerous conferences of the broader movement could testify. And throughout, Raji provided a brilliant illustration of how unweakening fidelity to revolutionary principle in no way excluded the tireless search for what one could unite on with those who would not go all the way with him for the moment: on the contrary, it really implied such a search.

In addition to a few months in 1921, it was my privilege for the last 35 years to take part in the collective discussions opened by Raji Dutt on all these subjects. I for one, and others can say the same, I am sure, can imagine no influence more profound and more lasting. And it is with all the greater sense of bereavement that these lines are written in the moment of RPD's passing.

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SHREWSBURY LOBBY

Syd Bidwell MP*

PRESS estimates of the TUC-Labour-called lobby of parliament on Tuesday, January 14, had it that about 10,000 turned out to march and demonstrate, by all accounts an impressive display eventually making its way to the Palace of Westminster. As is usual these occasions are impressive but peaceful: this has always characterised working class lobbies of parliament.

The capitalist press tried to diminish the importance of the event, descending to downright lying about the affair, and they debased themselves by their explanations as to what moved the official labour movement to go into action over the continued imprisonment of two shop steward leaders of the building site picket at Shrewsbury in September 1972.

These events highlight the poverty of the labour press, struggling for survival in the shape of the daily *Morning Star*, the weeklies and various fringe and sectarian publications. Surely the paucity of understanding of the meaning of Shrewsbury right into the ranks of the Parliamentary Labour Party (as I know) indicates the need for the TUC to promote its own journal in daily form and to give vigorous backing to present labour journals presenting the truth.

No wonder your Reg Prentices (outspoken) can get away with outright snubbing of the West Ham deputation to parliament—he refused to see them on principle and was at pains to let the whole world know. As in the case of the five dockers, he condemned Eric Tomlinson and Des Warren as being not worth lifting a finger for, let alone turning out in force to wait in the rain to see and discuss with MPs as so many managed to do. Many, of course, could not get into the House. I doubt if Reg Prentice actually knows any of the workers he so readily condemns.

But the attack must really be seen as an attack on the TUC, because the lobby was official. The TUC are now obliged to fight realistically against not only the now defunct Tory Industrial Relations Act but the usage of conspiracy law in any particle and form, in any kind of battle in pursuit of the struggle against non-unionism and, especially, the anarchic lump labour situation in the building industry.

Of course, throughout history workers have broken laws not of their making designed against the interests of unionism: the Tol-

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puddle Martyrs broke the law. Journalists have written that it is wrong to 'create' brothers Tomlinson and Warren as martyrs. But they, by their insistence on continued imprisonment because the Home Secretary (so far) refuses to budge and operate the royal pardon, have made brothers Tomlinson and Warren a couple of names for the history books.

Tuesday, January 14, saw a large demonstration but not large enough. Events cannot stand still. The campaign will go on because the using of conspiracy law has at long last been seen correctly, in high and low places in the trade unions, as an attack on the essence of trade unionism. This has and will be increasingly understood.

At the same time the lack of acceptance of this essential truth by the bulk of the Parliamentary Labour Party (especially right-wing Labour MP lawyers) is under exposure. Several of the trade union-sponsored members are lukewarm and will be content to leave brothers Tomlinson and Warren where they are, hoping it will be only a few months before a parole board will let them out. So every self-respecting trade unionist and socialist must continue the fight, using all known traditional methods of struggle, political and industrial.

It may be thought, among those who lobbied parliament, that they were wasting their time. Frustration can take them to sectarianism, and there was some evidence of that. What they have to assess more deeply is the historical relationship of the Parliamentary Labour Party, trade unions, labour movement and co-operatives, and use their talents more effectively. They have to learn to sort wheat from chaff if they engage in serious politics.

When the labour movement goes into action, with, as on January 14, an official meeting between trade union leaders and the PLP Liason Committee, nothing can ever be the same again if the Home Secretary and the Prime Minister ignore what they have been called upon to do. Their action is simple: they must release brothers Tomlinson and Warren. This is the least of their coming worries.

BILL HUTTON (MENNELL)

We lost, on January 19, another contributor distinguished by his quite special services to the labour movement. Working for many years in a stockbroker's office, William Hutton made exceptional use of his talents as a penetrating and lucid Marxist writer to analyse the operations of the financial world for the benefit of the people. His article 'Swedish Labour: The Facts' appeared in our journal in July 1963. *Labour Monthly* expresses its deepest sympathy to his wife Joyce and their family.

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THE RIGHT TO WORK

Peter Nicholas *

ONCE again the British workers are caught up in a recession, part of the recurrent crises of capitalism. Like all their counterparts in the so-called free Western World, they are threatened by a depression which is developing in some ways on a scale comparable with the 1930s.

In the United States unemployment has already reached the seven million mark, with catastrophic proportions in the automobile industry, which to a very great extent reflects the state of the nation in that country. In Western Europe massive cut-backs in automobile production are taking place in Italy, West Germany, France and Spain, and at the British Leyland plants in Belgium. Sackings and short-time working are in various degrees the order of the day.

Spin-offs from these developments show, of course, in the effects on the supplier trades, in steel, rubber for tyres, tyre manufacturing itself, the plastics industry and the multitude of trades connected with the auto industry. Consequently the other consumer industries are being hit as the purchasing power falls for so many workers, transformed in many cases from full plus overtime working to being without a job or to working short time.

Here in Britain the pattern, while not quite so bad as on the Continent, is assuming very serious proportions. Every day adds to the list of firms announcing cuts in production schedules. A 'Happy New Year' announcement for Chrysler workers was drastic short-time working. There were sackings at Jensen and Aston Martin, despite the latter's ability to sell their cars in the US. Lucas, Pilkington, Wilmott Breedon, Goodyear and Dunlop all announce the cut-backs in varying degrees, with the inevitable burden of lost jobs or short-time working for the workers. Add to this the whole host of subcontractors who supply the motor industry, and you begin to see the growing effects of the economic crisis on British workers.

British Leyland, with its versatile range of products, is not yet so badly hit, amounting, so far, to production cuts in the volume car division, resulting in the virtual elimination of overtime and a little short-time in some areas including the foundry. But, even so, uneasiness exists amongst the workers about the near future, and no

* Peter Nicholas is the Convener at the Rover (Tyseley) factory, Birmingham, a position he has held for over 25 years. He is a member of the British Leyland Motor Corporation trade union executive, and has served for over 30 years as a member of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers district committee.

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assurances have been heard from management; on the contrary they are very uncertain. In British Leyland many of the problems of the corporation stem not only from a fall in demand, but from a lack of capital investment comparable with their rivals. That investment which has been made has, in the opinion of many, been in the wrong place. Much of the capital investment has been in the volume car division, which now appears to be surplus to current demand, instead of in the truck and bus division, into those areas producing four-wheel drive vehicles, earth-moving equipment and tractors, for which there is, subject to improved trading relations with many other countries, a far greater perspective.

British Leyland's requirement of £500 million for future capital investment can only be provided from public funds, together with accountability and control of its destiny. The giving of public money into the hands of those who have failed lamentably in the past in their planning would be criminal. The inability of British Leyland to inspire anyone in the City to provide the necessary capital for the envisaged investment programme is an indictment in itself. It makes an irrefutable case for complete nationalisation if the same mistakes are not to be made again, and if British Leyland workers' jobs are to be secure.

The role of the foreign investor in this country, in the main American, must also be seen. No thought is given by the multi-nationals to the security of workers' jobs, and with the stroke of a pen decisions will be made outside this country. If it is necessary to reduce production, it will be done on the basis of producing in the area which is most 'economic', where trade union organisation is inhibited by repressive governments, or where high levels of un-employment exist.

Massey-Ferguson has already announced plans to expand in West Germany as a result, among other things, of having to come to terms with its employees in Britain. The multinationals and patriotism are completely incompatible. Profit is their God, and if it can be made at a greater level in one country than another then in any rationalisation that will be the criterion.

Two-thirds of the British motor industry is already in the hands of US-based multinationals, and there is talk of a Chrysler-BLMC link by some pundits. Those who believe that no one would allow the whole of the British motor industry to become US owned should be reminded that the argument will be promoted that, if it means saving the jobs of British Leyland workers, then reluctantly this is the path that may have to be trodden.

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This writer, however, believes that the British Leyland workers will be a determining factor in that particular decision, and at this particular time, when a deep-seated dialogue is already being conducted by the shop stewards on the future of British Leyland, the conception that nationalisation is the only real safeguard for their future is fast gaining ground.

If this policy were adopted, then the job of winning the rank and file for the policy would begin, for the type of nationalisation carried out so far in this country does not commend itself to the average worker. A new concept of real nationalisation has to be won, with real workers' participation: not a well-paid seat on the Board for some British Leyland worker or elderly trade union official for services rendered, but real power to make decisions by the trade unions at all levels both full-time official and rank and file, decisions about the investment programme, design, planning, marketing, etc—a programme of work which will involve the workers at every level in the most thorough-going consultation.

The appointment of Sir Don Ryder to examine the state of affairs of BLMC is looked upon by many leading shop stewards with some suspicion. He would be well advised, before concluding his deliberations, to have some serious discussions with the shop stewards in the factories who might well appraise him of some facts he would be unable to ascertain elsewhere. Any attempt to carry out a Weinstock exercise in BLMC of selling off the more profitable divisions, of rationalising in other divisions which involves redundancies, will be contested from the very start, a contest in which the workers of BLMC already have some experience.

In all the furore about the crisis in the Western world, 'It's happening everywhere: not just in Britain' is the story preached by the mass media. Little publicity is given by the mass media to the situation in the socialist countries, where progress is being made in terms of improved living standards and where the sack, redundancy, surplus to requirements, or whatever the media likes to call it is virtually non-existent: non-existent because unlike the 'free' Western world production is based on the needs of the community and not on the conception of making a quick buck.

More and more it is necessary to present the doctrine of socialism as the answer to job security, and that none of the alternatives of the Tories, Liberals, National Front, right-wing Labour leaders or the new breed of nationalists will make the crisis go away. No amount of pleading to make sacrifices, to enter a social contract, work harder (if you have a job), not go on strike for higher wages to defend

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standards of living, or to accept cuts in the social services will remove the root cause of the crisis. If this were the answer, the crisis would never have recurred. The pleas have all been made before so many times.

It is necessary not just to talk of socialism as the alternative, but to give examples of how it works in the socialist countries, not by some magical decree in a government department or committee, but by the utmost involvement of all concerned. Not least of all, the workers being consulted in every way is an essential requirement, not necessarily how many of a particular article are to be produced in the most economic way, but what are the priorities to meet the needs of the community in terms of how they can contribute to adequate and better-designed housing, education facilities in the form of more schools, universities and colleges.

The provision of cheap and adequate public transport, which in Britain today is at an abysmally low level, better social services in the form of more hospitals, health centres, day nurseries and crèches with trained staff: these are not an unattainable dream, something we cannot afford, something we must wait for in the long-distant future. These are the things that are ours by right, realisable objectives when the needs of the people are given priority over profit. This is the perspective at home. The horizons overseas are limitless.

Only the profit motive prevents us playing our part in relieving the poverty and hunger in the third world. Many people were horrified by a recent TV documentary on conditions in Bangladesh. Even when people are without work in Britain, it is inconceivable that we should not organise ourselves in such a way as to help people like these and others in similar circumstances. The importance of detente and developing trade on a vast scale with other countries, including the socialist countries, assumes tremendous proportions.

To those who say this is a Utopian dream, remember it is already happening in a third of the world—the socialist countries. The ruling class here are not yet defeated, but their options are running out, at a time when a growing number of the present generation are looking for an alternative to the old order of society. To the extent that we as socialists present the new horizons will progress be made and a society based on social justice, the right to work, and the right to live in comfort and peace be established.

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WORLD UNION UNITY— A NEW STEP

Bill Prince
National Council Member
Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers
Foundry Section

AT the invitation of the Metalworkers' Trade Unions International (World Federation of Trade Unions), I attended the 7th International Trade Conference of Metalworkers' Trade Unions held in December 1974 in Vichy, France, as one of the two representatives of the AUEW Foundry Section.

The administration committee responsible for organising the conference had extended an open invitation to all metalworkers' trade unions to send delegates or observers to attend the conference, with equal rights to observers (other than voting). They would be allowed to express their views freely and to use the technical services at the conference. The conference was attended by more than 200 participants from trade union organisations with different international affiliations, more than 25 million trade unionists being represented from 41 different countries.

The conference was opened by the president, Mr Jean Breteau, who indicated that it was the first time this trade conference had been held in a capitalist country since the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions 25 years ago. He outlined the main items on the agenda which were:

> The strengthening of unity and solidarity of metalworkers and trade unions for the attainment of their economic and social demands; for the defence and extension of trade union rights and liberties; for efficient action by metalworkers and their trade unions against multinational corporations.

Major contributions in the discussions were made by Henri Sinno (Secretary MTUI), Georges Seguy (France), Willi Janke (GDR), Ivan Kostukov (USSR) and Laurence Carmichael (Australia). Speakers from Japan, India, Chile, the US, Italy, Portugal, Vietnam and other countries gave an account of their activities in improving the living standards of their members, their work in strengthening their trade union organisation both internally and internationally, and in the capitalist countries the fight against the multinational companies.

A conference comprised of trade union representatives from

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socialist and capitalist countries inevitably brings together widely different experiences. In the socialist countries the people have complete political and economic control. The means of production and exchange are publicly owned. Wages, working conditions, safety and health at work are covered by legislation and supervised by the trade unions. There is no possibility of multinational companies who trade with them being able to transfer the conditions of exploitation of workers in capitalist countries to the socialist countries (as they do in capitalist and underdeveloped countries). The workers, while controlling their own development, are able to support the liberation struggles and working class activity in capitalist countries, and to strengthen the progressive forces and world peace movement.

The capitalist countries are facing a crisis of economic and monetary unheaval, with continuous soaring prices, as a consequence of which the living standards of the workers are declining as their purchasing power is eroded by inflation. While scientific and technical advances are made which should enrich and improve the living standards of the people, the opposite is taking place: in the metal industries lay-offs and mass unemployment are developing.

The main cause of the crisis of the capitalist system is also, at root, the reason for the creation of the multinational companies. Today less than 100 companies dominate the entire metal industry. They are responsible for the instability of employment, growing

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LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

It is not surprising that every time a workers' leader denies the class struggle in word or action a shout of applause and triumph goes up in the capitalist press.

Here we come to the very root of the weakness in the working class movement, the issue behind the issue of International Trade Union Unity, the root cause that stands in the way of the unity and effective action of the working class, that puts obstacles in the way of the common front at home and equally of the common front on a world scale. That root cause is the denial of the class struggle.

Until this issue is fought and won the effective unity of the working class in action, whether at home or abroad, can never be finally achieved, and will always be subjected to sabotage. Whoever, therefore, wishes the unity of the working class must desire the clearing out of the denial of the class struggle from the movement, i.e. the ending of co-operation with the capitalists. We have come to the deepest question behind the question of unity, and that governs the future of the movement.

(From 'Trade Union Unity and the Class Struggle', by R. Palme Dutt, *Labour Monthly,* February 1925)

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redundancy and intensification of exploitation of the workers and attacks on the trade unions. The multinational companies have tremendous financial and political influence, and do exert pressures and intervene in the political life in capitalist countries by supporting the reactionary forces. In the case of Chile they backed the forces which defeated the democratic government and installed a fascist regime. Today the multinational companies have reached the stage of combining their resources with the capitalist states in order to utilise national resources for their own interests.

It was in this situation that the trade union representatives at the 7th conference analysed the activity of the multinational companies in the metal industries, and formulated policies to unify the trade union movement. In order to fight against the monopolist exploitation of these companies, to protect and expand the purchasing power of the workers, win job security, establish better working conditions and defend and extend trade union rights and freedoms, it is necessary for the trade union movement in all countries and at all levels to find the most effective methods of intensifying the fight and establishing trade union unity to meet the new tasks arising from these struggles.

In the past, the trade unions at international level have been divided. Today a new climate exists, and wider co-operation between the WFTU and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with other international trade unions, is imperative. There is growing support for unity of the trade union movement at grass roots in all countries. The 7th International Trade Conference of Metalworkers' Unions proposed certain measures to establish a united front of workers and unions against the international monopolies on the following basis:

A systematic exchange of information between the trade union organisations in the same company installed in different countries, at various levels of living and working conditions.

Drafting of a co-ordinated programme of demands for workers in the same multinational companies.

Direct and permanent exchange of information between trade union bodies in factories belonging to the same multinational companies, and the constitution of co-ordinating committees composed of delegates and representatives in all these unions.

Establishment of democratic control and procedures, involving the trade unions, making it possible to intervene on policy and movements of capital of multinational companies.

The right of every country and every people to nationalise firms installed on their territory, to submit them to democratic control and to dispose freely of their own national resources, so as to lay the basis for independent economic

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development and oppose any interference by the monopolies in state affairs.

Development of international economic co-operation and trade exchanges on the basis of equality, for the benefit of all workers and peoples and on the basis of mutual and reciprocal advantages.

On the issue of International Women's Year 1975, a draft resolution urged metalworkers of the world to unite in the fight for the social, economic and political equality of working women, as part of the general struggle of the workers for social progress, freedom and peace. It supported the appeal of the WFTU for trade unionists the world over to promote equality between men and women, to give impetus to the total integration of women in the economic, political and cultural life of their countries, to extend their participation in the struggle for co-operation and friendship between peoples for peace and social progress.

May I compliment the organisers of the conference on the efficient manner in which the proceedings were effectively and democratically carried out, on the first-class facilities given to all participants in the proceedings, and the ideal conference centre in Vichy? The privilege of attending the conference has consolidated my confidence that the unity of the trade union movement throughout the world will progress further in 1975.

IS THERE INFLATION IN THE USSR?

Yakov Usherenko*

THE only time the Soviet Union suffered inflation was during the war years, when, straining its manpower, material and financial resources to defeat fascism, the country could not avoid inflationary processes. By the close of 1947, inflation had been overcome.

With the capitalist world beset by inflation, what are the factors in socialist society that make it possible to avoid inflation? Some Western politicians claim that inflation in their countries is caused, above all, by a growth of state spending. Yet in the Soviet Union state spending is also growing year by year. What is distinct about the Soviet state budget is that it has no deficit and regularly shows a small surplus of receipts over expenditures. The Soviet budget is balanced and stable because 90 per cent of its receipts come from the state and co-operative sectors of the economy. Developing according

* This article by a Soviet economist is datelined Moscow, January 10, 1975.

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to plan, without slumps, these sectors guarantee the revenue side of the budget.

Soviet experience shows that the growth of state spending does not lead in itself to inflation. In the past three years the Soviet national income has increased by 44,000 million roubles, providing the opportunity to increase spending considerably in all fields—production, consumption and the further growth of living standards—the main task not only of the current five year economic plan, ending in 1975, but also of the longer-term future.

Under capitalism it is the ordinary family that suffers from inflation first of all because of rising consumer prices. According to the Common Market Commission report, in Italy retail prices have increased by 18 per cent and in France by 15 per cent. Attempts in these countries to freeze prices and to establish administrative control over them are ineffective.

The Soviet Union's experience over many years allows us to say with full confidence that prices are controllable if factories, banks, trade and transport belong to society as a whole and are used in the interests of all its members. The level of Soviet retail prices is determined at industrial and agricultural enterprises and depends upon production costs. Distribution costs are low in the USSR. In retail trade they account for 6½ per cent of overall commodity circulation. In the Soviet Union retail prices of the staple foods, such as bread, sugar, confectionery, potatoes, vegetables, cereals and fruit, have remained unchanged for the past 25 years. As for meat, milk, butter, sausages and eggs, their prices have been stable since 1962. Rents in the USSR have not undergone any changes for many decades, although rent in our country is the lowest in the world, constituting, with heating, hot water and electricity and gas, 4-5 per cent of the family income. The most important thing in this respect is that the quality of up-to-date, well-appointed flats has improved immeasurably since the 1920s, when the current rent was introduced.

In the USSR prices are not something spontaneous. They are fixed by the state centrally and locally. The price committees and their local bodies, at national and republic level, not only regulate prices but also prevent violations in this field. The Soviet trade unions also control price formation. This is only natural as it is the trade unions' responsibility to guard the real wages of 100 million factory and office workers.

The real wage means that a person can obtain goods and services at unchanging prices, so that an increase in earnings means real

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additions to the family budget and a real increase in the goods and services received, and is not devoured by inflation.

In the first three years of the 1971-75 five year period 31 million factory and office workers, or one in every three people employed in the Soviet economy, have received substantial wage increases. This process continues. By the end of 1975 more tens of millions of industrial and office workers will have higher wages. This growth of monetary incomes is a real increase in wages and a real possibility to increase living standards, to enjoy more material and spiritual benefits. Hence inflation does not threaten the Soviet Union, or the purchasing power of the rouble, in this respect either.

The socialist economic system is a reliable and permanent guarantor of the stability of the rouble. The Soviet economy develops without crises or slumps, its main advantage being the plan-based and proportionate development of production and circulation, monetary circulation included. Socialist planning is the balanced synthesis of the stocks of materials and labour which the country has at its disposal, a real programme for every consecutive annual and five year period. Economic and social plans are being successfully carried out because they have a realistic foundation. State spending is part and parcel of the yearly and long-term economic plans and is conditioned by state policy.

Paper money is issued by the USSR State Bank, which holds the monopoly in this field. The emission plan of the USSR State Bank is a constituent part of the national economic plan. The issuing of paper money is strictly regulated, and every rouble not only has gold parity but is also guaranteed by the entire property of the state.

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POVERTY

Alan Brown

IN capitalist countries, developed to the point of the mass production and consumption of sophisticated consumer goods, poverty is the social evil which most glaringly illustrates the class realities of a system based on exploitation. For this reason, concentrated efforts are made to disguise its existence and to explain it away in the most discreet manner possible. From 'the unemployed don't want to work', through 'the poor are feckless and ne'er-do-wells', to 'those in poverty have slipped through the welfare net', we have seen it all. In fact, however, poverty is a structural part of British society, and the numbers of the poor are increasing.

The condition of the poor is dissected, analysed, measured and pored over. All too seldom, though, is poverty seen for what it is. Rooted in the class nature of capitalism, it springs from the process of exploitation, which produces both rich *and* poor, the one being relative to the other. As Brian Abel-Smith and Peter Townsend remarked in *The Poor and the Poorest* in 1965 (in one of the passages chosen by A. B. Atkinson for inclusion in his selection* published in 1973):

> In any objective sense the word has no absolute meaning which can be applied in all societies at all times. Poverty is a relative concept. Saying who is in poverty is to make a relative statement—rather like saying who is short or heavy.

But, more than that, poverty is a condition which can only be applied to divided, class societies. Its meaning is derived by comparing or contrasting it with its opposite: the poor stand in relation to the rich, the deprived to the opulent. At its heart is the uneven distribution of available wealth.

In her introduction to *Poverty, Inequality and Class Structure*†, Mrs Wedderburn speaks of 'relative deprivation' as being used 'in an objective sense to describe situations where people possess less of some desired attribute . . . than do others.' But this makes it a classless concept, and also a subjective one. It is not a question of being deprived of 'desired' attributes (for that matter, how many people's forced lack of education has killed the desire in them for

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* *Wealth, Income and Inequality*, edited by A. B. Atkinson. *Penguin*, 414 pp, £1.

† *Poverty, Inequality and Class Structure*, edited by Dorothy Wedderburn. *Cambridge University Press*, 248 pp, £4.80.

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that very thing?) but of *available* ones—i.e. those produced by the working people and yet not enjoyed by all. Nor is the word 'others' satisfactory, since among the 'others' may be better paid (or, simply, employed) workers, and it is not their better pay or the fact that they have employment, which is responsible for the poverty of the individual concerned. Poverty results from the deprivation of an individual, a group or a class of the fruits of their labour to a marked degree. This is a result of exploitation, and while the capitalist system survives so must poverty survive as an integral part of it.

The confusion or omission of the class aspect of poverty destroys more than just clarity as to its origins: it harms the fight for policies which can attack poverty at its source. And one of the difficulties with *Poverty, Inequality and Class Structure* is that in so much of it comparisons are made between people who are part of the same exploited section of society, i.e. between white- and blue-collar workers. And this even leads to a discussion of incomes policies, as though they had any relevance to the problem of poverty (except to make it worse).

In an essay entitled 'Relative Deprivation at Work', written by Mrs Wedderburn and Christine Craig, they argue that employers and employed stand in different and unequal relationships to one another, both of power and command over resources. They go on:

> This results in the more obvious inequalities—those of wealth and income —between capital owners and employees. And if this appears to beg the question of who are the 'owners' or 'employers' in modern capitalist society it cannot be denied that there is a vast gulf between the wealth and power of top managers and lower level employees.

This gives the field to the enemy without a struggle. First a class analysis and then its opposite. For 'top managers and lower level employees' do not constitute the two sides of the class system: the one does not exploit the other, nor does the affluence of the one result in the other's deprivation. And no incomes policy to re-distribute wages and salaries will end poverty under capitalism.

Why is this important? Because if there is to be a redistribution of wealth it has to be across class lines, not of incomes among the working people (the question of correct differentials is quite another matter). The line has to be seen and drawn between the exploiters and the exploited, to make clear that the solution of poverty is bound up entirely with the solution of more general class problems. Nor is this to take a simplistic approach, or to argue that 'nothing can be done this side of socialism'. It is to argue that policies which

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harm the working people as a whole will harm the poor even more.

To alleviate poverty it is necessary to examine it, to see how the manifold pincers which grip the working people under capitalism converge more harshly on those with least economic wealth and power. To study the sociological aspects, comparisons must be made between those in poverty and the mass of the people—but this methodology (developed in some detail in Mrs Wedderburn's selection) only has validity if set in the context of and related to the basic class divisions, and when the difference between ameliorating poverty and ending it is clearly laid down. Ralph Miliband, in his essay 'Politics and Poverty', makes the point in his closing lines:

> But the truth—and it is a bitter truth—is that the abolition of poverty will have to wait until the abolition of the system which breeds it comes on to the agenda; and this is a question which far transcends the issue of poverty itself.

CORRESPONDENCE:

Release All Internees

IN DECEMBER the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association requested *Labour Monthly* to draw attention to the plight of two young mothers interned in Armagh jail without charge or trial. NICRA had been carrying out a campaign both nationally and internationally to have these mothers freed, and we were glad to know that *Labour Monthly* would give its middle page spread in January to their cases. Our campaign came to a succesful conclusion on Christmas Eve, when an official of the Northern Ireland Office telephoned NICRA with the good news that both Mary and Billy Kennedy had been released. He also said that it was very likely that Evelyn Gilroy would be released at the New Year: this proved to be the case and Evelyn was released on December 31 and reunited with her two small babies.

When we received the news, most newspaper offices were closed and it was impossible to contact any of our friends in Britain who had worked on this issue, to inform them of the news. Obviously Merlyn Rees timed the releases so as to ensure as little publicity as possible. In fact, he left the release of Billy and Mary Kennedy so late that they could not after all spend Christmas with their seven children, who had already been sent to various parts of Ireland to spend Christmas with friends. But the Kennedy family's home was not fit to live in anyway. As Mary found out, the house was in a shambles thanks to the continual raiding by the British army and the absence for so long of parents in the home. Now the Kennedy family are looking for a new home and it will have to be furnished from scratch again, as most of their furniture and bedding has been destroyed.

But the release of the Kennedys and Evelyn Gilroy is no cause for any democrat to rest on their laurels. Twenty-five other young girls are still interned in Armagh jail without charge or trial; almost 600 men and boys remain incarcerated in Long

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Kesh at the whim of the British government.

So it is imperative that at this time the demand is continually highlighted for a complete end to internment which would also mean the ending of the law which makes internment possible—the Emergency Provisions Act. Only when the right to life, to liberty and to political organisation is guaranteed, will there be a true peace in Northern Ireland.

MADGE DAVISON
Assistant Organiser
Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association

'In Memory of RPD'

The contributions listed on this page were the first to reach *Labour Monthly*'s office with notes indicating that the senders wished them to be put into a special fund 'in memory of RPD'. These arrived in December, and the list has grown rapidly in the first half of January. We are following the practice on our regular fund page of publishing the acknowledgements month by month, so that contributions which came in after December 31 will appear in our March issue.

Among the messages accompanying the donations, Ben Ainley wrote to say: 'I must be one of a quite small band still alive who has read *Labour Monthly* since its inception, though I cannot claim to have been a regular reader until the late 1920s. I loved and admired RPD throughout the years, and I think it true to say that no other single formative influence has more powerfully affected my judgements on the passing scene.'

A branch of the Britain-GDR Society sent from Aberdeen: 'In memory of our dear friend who did so much for peace.' Phyllis Bell: 'In deep and warm respect and admiration.' And Solly Sachs: 'A small tribute to a great man and brilliant Marxist.'

The Islington YCL brought the collecting sheets they had circulated containing the names of 40 contributors. They had rephrased Nikolai Ostrovsky's words as 'All his life and all his strength were given to the finest cause in the world—the fight for the liberation of mankind', in recognition of RPD, whose ' "Notes of the Month" have been a constant source of inspiration to us, and his internationalism something to live up to.'

The total which came into this special fund in the period December 20-31 was:

£247.75

A T V and M E R £200, Ben Ainley £1, Britain-GDR Society (North-East Scotland Branch) £6, John and Vera Fasham £10, Phyllis Bell £5, S Sachs £2, Stevenage Branch £1, R Marriott 25p, F O Williams £10, Islington YCL £12.50.

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Scene from the January

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nass lobby of parliament

Photograph by courtesy of the *Morning Star*

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R. PALME DUTT

We publish below extracts from the speeches made at the funeral on December 28, 1974, by Ivor Montagu, Vishnu Sharma, Raymond Guyot and John Gollan.

Ivor Montagu:

I speak as one of the earliest hatches of nearly two generations of younger people—my own at the same university including Dobb, Hutt, Bernal—to whom RPD's clarity of exposition, balanced knowledge and unshakable confidence brought, no less in conversations than writings, both inspiration and a clue through the labyrinth of worldly facts with which we were assailed.

This succession has grown steadily throughout his lifetime. There is no quarter of the globe to which my travel has taken me where I have not come across comrades who owed a first seed to RPD and his writings, and who spoke of him not just with admiration—many in our movement have earned that—but with gratitude and affection.

Here in our own country you are as likely to meet a young militant in the factory, an experienced trade unionist, a humble slogger in the constituencies, or a promising MP in Labour's ranks who owes the faith that sustains courage, or the first acquaintance with the Marxism that brought understanding, to RPD and his 'Notes of the Month'.

Let me take you for a moment inside one of those Board meetings: each month for fifty years—in health and at liberty—RPD must have participated in a total of nearly 600.

RPD would open with one of those masterly surveys that our French friends sometimes call a 'tour du monde'—a round trip of profound analysis around the top issues of the day. Now would follow the contributions of everyone on whatever aspect struck each as most urgent or needing to be emphasised. Then the practical decisions on priorities for the next number: how and where to obtain the clearest and most fertile or authoritative expositions of fifty years in action.

No view expressed in these discussions but always received its meed of attention, the contents evolved in common by consensus. I never knew a comrade more gentle and encouraging than our editor, more courteous and good-humoured, respectful of others and withal firmer, with unmovable integrity and revolutionary conscience, than RPD.

Vishnu Sharma:

S. A. Dange, chairman of the Communist Party of India, paid tribute to Palme Dutt for his 'unique contribution over half a century to the international Communist movement, the British working class movement and the Indian Communist and freedom movements.'

The Indian Communist Party (Marxist) said: 'We recall with pride the British Communist Party's fight for Indian independence and its active support of our freedom struggle.'

Raymond Guyot:

In the name of the French Communist Party, I would like to pay

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homage, with emotion and respect, on this day of mourning, in memory of our comrade, Palme Dutt.

The name and work of Comrade Palme Dutt belong in the first place to his own Party and its founders, to the working class and democratic movement of Britain. But they belong at the same time to the international Communist movement of which he was a militant whose great merit was recognised.

We in France consider his works, such as India Today and Tomorrow *and* The Crisis of Britain and the British Empire, *as classics—a whole generation was brought up on them. For our Comrade Dutt I am sure the greatest joy was to see the collapse of the world system of colonialism—and I say this having known our comrade and having heard him speak.*

John Gollan:

Raji Palme Dutt's contribution to the founding and development of our Party was great indeed. A foundation member, he was the youngest member of our Executive Committee for many years, joining at first in 1923 and continuing in it for 42 years. In 1965 when, along with his close comrades Peter Kerrigan and John Ross Campbell, he left the EC to make way for younger comrades, we said at our national congress in that year: 'The tremendous debt our Party owes to these comrades who were amongst the small band who laid the foundations of our Party is impossible to exaggerate.'

But even before this, he was beginning to make his mark in British political affairs, and in giving leadership to the movement. For it was in 1921 that he founded Labour Monthly. *This journal, with its world-wide reputation, and particularly his brilliant 'Notes of the Month', influenced the British labour movement for over half a century. From the beginning, he was the journal's editor—an editorship which lasted 53 years.*

It was a prodigious task, yet at the same time he did many other things. He was head of our International Department and attended many international congresses. He was a lifelong staunch friend of the Soviet Union.

It is a measure of the scope of his contribution to the British and international working class movement that it was for yet another area of activity that he was possibly more widely known here and throughout the world. His books and writings on fascism, imperialism and colonialism are not only an outstanding contribution to the science of Marxism-Leninism: they alerted, inspired and guided countless thousands of working people in Britain and abroad.

The close alliance of the socialist world forces, the national liberation movement and the working class of the capitalist countries is the triple force which is determining the course of human history. By his work on the national liberation movement and the role it could play, Raji made a signal contribution to the development of that alliance.

The rapidity with which the world is being transformed to socialism is the greatest tribute he could have. To speed that process is the best way for us to express our appreciation and regard for him.

His last years were a great burden to him in pain and sickness. But he lived them out in characteristic courage and devotion to his work.

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RENEE SHORT MP
House of Commons, Westminster

It is always sad when a devoted socialist and a staunch comrade dies. Raji's whole life was dedicated to the struggle for a better society for all working people, wherever they lived, whatever their race or religion. He was a fiery, determined speaker, a man of passion and conviction as I remember him. Such men are sorely missed. We shall miss RPD.

JULIUS SILVERMAN MP
House of Commons, Westminster

I have known Palme Dutt for many years. Whilst as a member of the Labour Party I have not always agreed with his views, I have always had the greatest admiration for his intellect, clarity and ability. In particular, as chairman of the India League, I would like to pay a tribute to the important work that he has done for the independence of India which will be very much appreciated throughout the whole of the Indian subcontinent. I am very sad at hearing of his passing.

FENNER BROCKWAY
House of Lords, Westminster

The passing of Palme Dutt is a loss not only to *Labour Monthly* and the Communist Party but to the working class movement of the world and to something more—the history of our time and to its evolution in thinking. He was one of the social theoreticians of this century, and ever, month by month, applied his theory directly to practice. One often disagreed with him, but always recognised his intellectual integrity and his passion for human progress. And he was so broadminded, appreciative of others of different views when they were equally sincere! Palme Dutt belonged to all of us and to all time.

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ALAN SAPPER
General Secretary, Association of Cinematograph, Television and allied Technicians

Palme Dutt was one of the select band of activists who guided not just the British labour movement but also the world movement all his mature life. I was fortunate to be associated, even minimally, with him on the Editorial Board of *Labour Monthly*, and naturally met him on other occasions, and I was always confident that as a man he would always respond to questions and give freely of his time. The outstanding characteristic that comes to mind is of a man who was frail in a physical sense but was a giant as a thinker, writer and reporter. His monthly 'Notes', a brilliant combination of reportage and interpretation, formed the basis of the mainstream approach for the whole labour movement.

Naturally he had enemies of his philosophical and dialectical interpretations, and at times the relevance of what he said only became apparent some years later. I never met anyone from our movement who was hostile to him personally.

R. Palme Dutt will be remembered by his lifelong contribution which created of him an institution in his own lifetime. I salute him, for he has been one of the major contributors in creating and forming my optimistic socialist philosophy.

HUGH SCANLON
President, Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers

Mourning the passing of Raji Palme Dutt is to mourn the departure from us of a man who has guided and inspired generations of active trade unionists: guided them along the road of socialist theory, through the minefields of capitalist economics and into a greater understanding of the strategy and tactics of victory for the working class. His inspiration, also through the pages of *Labour Monthly*, came from his indomitable confidence as to the ultimate outcome of the battle, both in Britain and throughout the world. The world today, compared with 1921 which saw the birth of *LM*, is eloquent justification for that optimism.

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RAY BUCKTON
General Secretary, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen

I would like to pay tribute to Palme Dutt, one of the great figures in the working class movement. In 1921 he founded *Labour Monthly* and edited it for over 50 years until his death, truly an amazing record. He called it 'A Magazine of Left Unity', and when I was asked to contribute to this journal, which has campaigned so consistently in the cause of socialism, I did so with humility and pride.

Only four days before Palme Dutt died he completed his editorial 'Notes of the Month', and it is indeed sad to think we shall not see again those familiar initials, RPD, attached for the last time to a piece characteristically and challengingly headed '1975—Year of Decision'.

MICHAEL McGAHEY
President, Scottish Area, National Union of Mineworkers

Those of us who have grown up in the Young Communist League and in the communist movement, and who have played an active part in the broad labour and trade union movement of our country, shall never forget the immense contribution to our development arising from the work of R. Palme Dutt. No matter the difficulties of any particular period, his 'Notes of the Month' were a breath of fresh air, bringing with it clarity and confidence in the working class of Britain and in the eventual advance to a socialist society.

R. Palme Dutt will be missed in the British labour movement but his work will continue to be an inspiration to all who engage in the working class struggle, not only in Britain but throughout the world.

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KEN GILL
General Secretary, Technical, Administrative and Supervisory Section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers

I have followed Palme Dutt's contribution to the struggles of workers in Britain and the world for many years, and in recent times have had the very great pleasure of working with him.

My personal and general experience makes me see him as an international giant in Marxist thought. My international contacts prove to me that he is highly regarded by active workers in many countries as well as Britain. This is as it should be. His was no narrow view confined to the immediate interests of the British workers. The canvas on which he painted was the global struggle of the workers seeking to advance towards socialism.

His life's work, spanning many decades, and covering all the ups and downs of the British and international workers' movement, at all times found him clearly pointing the way forward.

His deep and popular theoretical analysis of the problems of the world's workers drew out the need for the widest unity of worker organisations and must have substantially raised the general consciousness and reduced the tendency to think in narrow national enclaves. The breadth of contribution he inspired to *Labour Monthly* during his long editorship reflects this essence of his work.

I salute his memory. May we all faithfully carry on his work.

JOHN WOOD
Edinburgh

It is up to us and all of the younger comrades in the working class and all progressive political parties to carry forward the task laid down to us by the unselfish labour of our most respected comrade. He has written his own memoriam to history. His work will never die. He has seen the near elimination of colonialism, the successful uprisings of national independence of former colonial peoples, and he has helped to lay the road towards socialism in Britain.

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CHEDDI JAGAN
People's Progressive Party, Guyana

Like countless other active politicians all over the world, I have been greatly influenced throughout my life by R. Palme Dutt. In a very practical sense, therefore, his Marxist-Leninist analyses and interpretations of events will continue to play their part and to affect this changed and changing world, even though he is no longer with us; and, in the years ahead, there will be many coming after us who will find the clear style in his writings on the politics of two generations of immense help. The communist movement has lost one of its most brilliant and prolific theoreticians, and I, like the innumerable friends he made during his life, will sorely miss him.

LEVENT DALYAN
Secretary, Union of Turkish Progressives in Britain

With profound regret we have learned of the death of Comrade R. Palme Dutt, the editor of *Labour Monthly*. We feel that his death is a great loss for the British and international working class movement. His outstanding theoretical works, his 'Notes of the Month' and his whole practice was and will be a source of inspiration for us.

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WILLIAM KASHTAN
General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada

It was with great sorrow that we heard of the untimely death of Comrade R. Palme Dutt. Through the written word and personally, we knew him well and always appreciated his sharp, deep and penetrating analysis of developments in Britain and on a world scale. I met Comrade Palme Dutt in Moscow a few years ago and was struck by his revolutionary optimism, an optimism which permeated all his activities. He inspired countless Canadians with his 'Notes of the Month.'

S. K. BASU
Managing Director, National Book Agency Private Ltd, India

We, the members and staff of National Book Agency Private Ltd, are grieved to learn of the death of comrade R. P. Dutt. Please accept our condolences on his death and convey the same to his relatives. It would be of interest for you to know that we published RPD's book, *Fascism and Social Revolution*, in the 1940s before his visit to India.

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TONY and BETTY AMBATIELOS
Greece

Raji Palme Dutt's 'Notes of the Month' and his many books, avidly studied in every concentration camp and prison in Greece by the political prisoners, never failed to throw new light on developments and show the way forward for the peoples. His deep grasp of Marxism-Leninism, his abiding faith in the international working class, in the Soviet Union and socialism, his optimism and incredible determination in face of ill health were an example at all times. We greatly valued his warm solidarity and feel his loss deeply.

JESSICA SMITH, DAVID LAIBMAN and LEW MOROZE
New World Review, **New York**

EDITORS NEW WORLD REVIEW SHARE YOUR GRIEF MEASURELESS LOSS OF PALME DUTT GREAT MARXIST LENINIST LEADER THINKER SUPREMELY GIFTED WRITER ANALYST WORLD EVENTS THE BRILLIANCE CLARITY AND HUMANISM OF HIS THOUGHT REMAIN A BEACON ILLUMINATING ROAD TO THE SOCIALIST FUTURE HE LEAVES DEATHLESS HERITAGE TO WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT FOR LIBERATION OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ALL OPPRESSED FOR SOCIALISM AND PEACE

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BRIAN BUNTING
South Africa

The outstanding achievements of Comrade Raji will never be forgotten by the thousands of men and women in the South African liberation movement who benefited from his lifetime's labour. We were brought up on his treatises on the crisis of the British empire, the evils of fascism, above all on the aims and work of the international communist movement which, spearheaded by the Soviet Union, has transformed the world in our lifetime, bringing hope into the homes and hearts of oppressed millions everywhere. We mourn the passing of a great friend and comrade.

HERBERT APTHEKER
Director, American Institute for Marxist Studies, New York

Personally, in terms of reading, I came to Marxism in the 1930s through studying Marx, Engels, Lenin and R. Palme Dutt. His books on the realities of international politics, of imperialism and of fascism, and his monthly essays were simply indispensable. To repay the debt requires that one do his best, in however limited a degree, to emulate Comrade Dutt's model life as a Communist.

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BETTY SINCLAIR
Secretary, Belfast and District Trades' Union Council

Palme Dutt will always live for the progressive forces in Ireland. He, living in the heart of the citadel of the most powerful imperialist empire of modern times, did more than any other man to uncover the stinking corpse of reaction and death. By his work and writings he gave hope and inspiration to the men and women of nations such as Ireland who thought, at times, that the struggle was too unequal. His message always came with the courage of his convictions, his faith in the working class, and so inspired others to go forward. His great soul will go marching on with the forces battling against imperialism in order to usher in the socialist society.

MICHAEL O'RIORDAN
Secretary, Communist Party of Ireland

Palme Dutt had a keen interest and wide knowledge of the Irish struggle for freedom. It was only five months ago that he devoted his famous 'Notes of the Month' in his journal to the current situation in our country. Headed 'Ireland—Battlefront for Democracy', he dealt in his typical, profound, but yet simple style, with the effects of British imperialist policies towards our country, pointing out particularly to his British readership: 'Once again the Irish question has become a dominant issue of the political situation in Britain,' and that 'the events in Ireland reveal a menace to democracy equally in Ireland and in Britain, and require the joint action of the Irish and British working people to defeat this menace.' His lengthy editorial was regarded as such an important analysis of our situation that it was republished in Ireland as a separate pamphlet.

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ART SHIELDS
Daily World, **New York**

I JOIN MY COMRADES IN MOURNING THE LOSS OF R PALME DUTT WHO HAS BEEN MY TEACHER FOR SEVERAL DECADES

NATALIE CURLEY
Imported Publications Inc, Chicago

We here at 'Imported' who have known *Labour Monthly* for long have recognised R. Palme Dutt's leadership for a consistent and clear Marxist-Leninist ideological struggle which was always accompanied by an approach to reach the widest possible readership internationally. We in the United States, along with the many throughout the world, who are involved in the distribution of socialist literature, will especially feel the loss.

PROFESSOR VASILI GLUSHKOV
Institute of World Economy and International Politics, Moscow

Allow me to express personally and on behalf of my colleagues our profound grief at the death of Comrade Palme Dutt.

GEORGI PEROV
Formerly of the State Planning Committee, USSR

Accept my deep sympathy at the passing of the veteran Communist and Marxist-Leninist, our common friend in life and outlook.

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DIRK J. STRUIK
Professor Emeritus, Department of Mathematics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA

With you I mourn the death of that great Marxian scholar and communist militant R. Palme Dutt. For many years his books and his articles have informed and led me as perhaps no other Marxian scholar ever did. Always I looked forward to his introductory essay in *Labour Monthly*. How well these essays have been able to face the critique of time! I hope that you will be able to prepare a selection of his papers in the form of a book. And keep up the high standard that Palme Dutt set for *Labour Monthly*.

ALFRED JENKIN
St Austell, Cornwall

I first encountered *Labour Monthly* in the Liverpool public library in 1928 when I was a callow youth of 15. I was struck by the way in which the editor explained the political problems to which other experts had provided no solution.

It was not until I heard RPD speak in the Leeds City Hall after the Munich crisis of 1938 that I realised he was a personality apart from the paper. It is said that 'he was not a good speaker', and he was certainly not a fluent speaker, but those who were attentive took his words to heart. On that occasion he contrasted the paths of socialism in the Soviet Union with that of capitalism, 'on the eve of a terrible war'.

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JACK DASH
'Pupil', London

No doubt that from now and in time, 'Raji' will be referred to as 'the late Palme Dutt' in future political articles but this would be wrong. He is not 'late' but the ever present Raji, tutor to us all. Come what may, wherever the British labour lads and lasses organise, march and demonstrate, Raji will be by their side. Farewell, tutor and comrade.

PETER, BRIGITTA, RICHARD and JANE TEMPEST
Moscow

DEEPLY GRIEVED TO HEAR OF RAJIS DEATH
WHOSE FRIENDSHIP AND COUNSEL WE HAVE
TREASURED FOR MANY YEARS AND SHALL
NEVER FORGET TO ALL THE COMRADES AT
LABOUR MONTHLY OUR DEEPEST SYMPATHY
RAJI IS EVER IN OUR THOUGHTS

EDGAR P. YOUNG
Commander RN Retired

I write to express to you my deepest condolences on the death of Rajani Palme Dutt. It is a loss in which I share, of course, for I owe so very much to him for my political education, and he has for so many years been my main source of inspiration and encouragement. The world is much the poorer for his passing away.

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BOOKS

The Politics of Educational Reform
Brian Simon
Lawrence & Wishart, 400 pp, £6

THE THIRD VOLUME of Brian Simon's studies in the history of education maintains the same high standard of scholarship and readability as the earlier volumes.

The story opens with the aftermath of the 1918 Education Act which legislated a leaving age of 14 without exemptions, nursery development and a day continuation system of part-time schooling which hardly got off the ground. Money was of course the great practical hurdle that had to be surmounted, and the author devotes considerable space to the unending economy campaigns that were to be such a feature of the inter-war years, beginning with the notorious Geddes Committee and the 'axe' it recommended. The language and arguments of those demanding cuts has remained pretty constant over the years, and what is valuable in Simon's account is the other side of the picture, the powerful anti-economy movements which bravely carried on their efforts in the interests of working class children.

Secondary education was the big political issue in education, and we are given a full account of the background and detailed controversies around the Hadow recommendations for secondary reform which overshadowed the educational scene for many years. Full credit is given to Sir Charles Trevelyan in his efforts to turn the clock forward not only in the short-lived 1924 Labour government but also in that of 1929-31. In the latter he followed five years of Tory rule and the active canvassing of the raising of secondary fees, a higher school entry age and the ending of the percentage grant system of assisting local authorities.

His battle to raise the leaving age to 15, as Hadow had recommended, and the reasons for his defeat and bitter disappointment are detailed, as are the very meagre advances made before the 1931 holocaust overtook the schools. It is sometimes forgotten that in the May Committee's economy proposals education was to suffer the second largest cut—some 27 per cent of the estimates.

There followed the lean years of the early 30s in which some of us cut our teeth in educational politics. When recovery began, its main though not only outcome was the feeble and ultimately abortive 1936 Act—to operate in 1939—for raising the leaving age to 15, with its absurd exemption clauses. Today, when increased unemployment looms again, it is interesting to recall that raising the leaving age was in the TUC mind very closely linked with the problem of unemployment among adults. It is sad to hear these old arguments rehearsed again in connection with the maintenance of the present leaving age of 16, under attack in certain quarters.

There is an interesting chapter on the background of selection and mental testing though I don't think quite adequate weight is given by Simon to the strong feeling among progressives at the time that the latter was a progressive instrument. I well remember as a young teacher the actual use, planned and made, of Moshinsky and Gray's findings based on IQs (which the book does, of course, deal with) as a means of advancing the educational policy of the National Union of Teachers.

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If I have any major criticism to make of the book it is that, in spite of the appendix on the reactions to circular 1421 of 1932, one would have liked more of the history behind the history (as it were) of TUC and NUT and other public top-level reactions which influenced their public positions. The political 'left', for example, appears nowhere apart from the Labour Party and some early references to the Teachers' Labour League. Did no one else, for example the Communist Party, play any part in the politics of educational reform in this period?

MAX MORRIS

The Burston School Strike

Bertram Edwards

Lawrence & Wishart, 214 pp, £2

THE HIGDONS were dismissed from their teaching posts on March 31, 1914. The schoolchildren, supported by their parents, went on strike. The Higdons continued to teach them in what became known as the Strike School, while the official school was virtually boycotted by the entire village. The Agricultural Labourers' Union, the National Union of Railwaymen and other unions, besides a growing number of influential Independent Labour Party and Labour personalities, gave moral and financial support to the strikers, the parents and the teachers. Authority tried ineffectual acts of oppression. The NUT, after dragging its feet over the victimisations, finally came clean and granted sustentation, thanks to the courageous and continued campaign of rank-and-file teachers in the union.

More, much more, was involved in the dispute, than the vindication of two brave, obstinate, pigheaded teachers. Behind the solidarity around the Higdons was the solidarity of agricultural labourers and railwaymen as well as the left of the labour movement against the domination of farmers and clericals in a tiny village area. Tom Higdon was an organiser for the agricultural labourers, and this brought him in head-on collision with the rural bigwigs. The victory of the strike was likewise a victory for organisation among the agricultural workers, many new branches being formed, and for successive annual wage increases.

The story is splendidly told by Bertram Edwards, who rightly confines his exposition to a discreet introduction of eyewitnesses and participants and to the journalist observers of the period, and remarkably enough, to the reminiscing oldies in 1971 and 1972 looking back on events in which they were prime actors 50 or 60 years earlier.

It is an exciting tale well worth telling, and worthily told. The protagonists, Tom and Annie Higdon, emerge as real people, far from being saints but sound and responsible: Tom, irascible and easily moved to rage, sustained by his passionate fight for the farm labourers; Annie, the dedicated teacher whose great merit is her loyalty to the children. her husband and her principles.

To this reviewer the references on pages 154-5 to the relations between the Higdons and G. C. T. Giles, the Acton headmaster and later president of the National Union of Teachers, were in the nature of a revelation and a discovery. And in spite of the recent television programme, how many people, how many teachers, know of this success story of militant action in the teaching world of 60 years ago? Many more, we hope, as a result of this book.

BEN AINLEY

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The 'X' Documents

A. P. Young

André Deutsch, 254 pp, £3.50

PUBLISHED RATHER LATE in the day, this book relates the contacts, from 1937 to 1939, between the author, a Scottish businessman who managed the Rugby works of the British Thomson-Houston company, through Herr Robert Bosch, his 'opposite number' in the German firm AEG at Stuttgart, with an influential German businessman, Dr Carl Friedrich Goerdeler, with whom he shared distaste for Nazism and for Herr Hitler, primarily on Christian religious grounds. The 'X' documents are six reports presented to the Foreign Office about the author's meetings and discussions with Dr Goerdeler, three of which were presented before the Munich sell-out and three after.

Throughout the first three of these, and to some extent also in the remainder, Dr Goerdeler, who could speak with authority because of his comprehensive inside knowledge of the situation in his country, exposed its desperate financial condition and its military weakness, arguing from this that Hitler was bluffing, and urged that Britain and France should call that bluff. This, he argued further, would result, sooner or later, and probably sooner, in the downfall of the Nazi regime and its replacement by one with which there might be reasonable accommodation, without war. The alternative, of appeasement, to which Neville Chamberlain seemed to be completely committed, would result in world war, on which Hitler was 'hell bent', in terms made disadvantageous for the Western countries by their own policy.

This appreciation of the situation accords well with the fact, widely known at the time, that in July of 1938 the German general staff presented Hitler with a memorandum stating bluntly: 'You cannot make war. Germany is bound to lose. We cannot, and will not, accept responsibility for fighting against an alliance that would inevitably be of Czechoslovakia, France, the Soviet Union and Britain—numbering over 600 million people.' This memorandum had been accompanied, moreover, by the visit to London of a number of German generals, who told Winston Churchill, among others, that if only Britain stood firm against this latest 'bluff' of Hitler's, they would 'do their stuff' by disposing of Hitler.

The fact that no mention of the foregoing appears in the 'X' documents is strange, in the circumstances, and suggests that the Foreign Office's attitude in relation to those documents may have been influenced by suspicion that Goerdeler and company were as 'nationalist' as Hitler and less fully committed against him than were the German generals—that they were actually trying to gain for Germany all that Hitler aspired to—as the price for getting rid of the monster and for refraining from actual hostilities. Vansittart's eventual rejection of co-operation with them after having favoured it at first, could be justified by his quotation to this effect from the documents.

A. P. Young's book should therefore be collated with a number of other books of 'revelations' about Munich, rather than accepted as it stands, if only because the author seems to be politically naïve.

It may be fairly claimed, on the other hand, that its revelations complement and confirm those made in other books on the subject. He suggests mildly, for instance, that 'the possibly well-intentioned Neville

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Chamberlain was perhaps over-influenced by his closest associates, his wife and Sir Horace Wilson, both active disciples of the Oxford Group, now known as the Moral Rearmament Movement, the leader of which, Dr Buchman, "thanked God for Hitler".' Leaving this possibility 'to be explored by some future historian,' he gives possible cues to whoever may undertake that task by remarking that the membership of the Oxford Group, at the time of Munich, included at least 30 per cent of the members of our parliament, as well as the arch Nazi Heinrich Himmler, GESTAPO chief, and his wife.

Another very interesting revelation by the author is that towards the end of August 1938 his 'close friend' Ritchie Calder, then scientific correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, suggested that he should meet the editor of that paper, and show him 'X' Document No 1. 'Together we entered the editor's sanctum,' he writes. 'We got along famously with Francis Williams, a warm and friendly personality who was obviously moved by his reading of the document in our presence. He then, quite understandably, expressed a desire to bring W. N. Ewer, his diplomatic correspondent, into our discussion. From then on the atmosphere of this secret meeting became almost hostile to Dr Goerdeler and my report.' Shortly before this, he then adds, he had seen Vernon Bartlett, of the *News Chronicle*, in his flat in Whitehall Mansions, and had shown him 'X' Document No 1. 'I did not feel he was greatly impressed,' he writes of this meeting, 'but we parted amicably. Apparently, Bartlett must have told Ewer of our meeting. For early in September, my close friend Frank Ashton-Gwatkin, the economic counsellor in the Foreign Office, told me that Ewer and Bartlett had visited him *to lodge an official complaint about my activities.*'

When the *whole* truth about Munich, its accompaniments *and* its sequels (which are still in active process) is made public it will read like the Pentagon and the Watergate Papers rolled into one.

EDGAR P. YOUNG

Wage Politics in Britain 1945-1967

Gerald A. Dorfman

Charles Knight, 180 pp, £3.25

THE 'SOCIAL CONTRACT' is nothing new. This study of 22 years of pay pause, temporary boom, wage restraint and broken promises compellingly shows that it is not desirable. Four times between 1945 and 1967 the government asked the TUC to co-operate in implementing a policy of wage restraint. When the TUC co-operated and encouraged affiliated unions to 'moderate' their wage claims the result was a fall in the standard of living for many workers and the eventual breakdown of the policy. In mid 1948, for example, the TUC agreed to a wage restraint policy on certain conditions, notably that food subsidies be continued, price controls strictly enforced and collective bargaining left alone. The result was that over the next 18 months average wages rose by under four per cent, while food prices went up nearly ten per cent and all prices rose by six per cent. There are many other illustrations of the fatal results of accepting 'social contracts' in this short history of the politics of the TUC, the trade unions and the government of the day.

Unfortunately, Gerald Dorfman accepts such well-known economic myths as 'excessive' wage increases cause inflation, and wage restraint is good for economic growth. This leads

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to the occasional use of confusing phrases, such as the 'collectivist' era of British politics. Nonetheless, he is alive to many of the main political issues within the labour and trade union movements. He traces the development of the left in the trade union leadership. He exposes the trick of national unity. He discusses the key role of the shop stewards' movement and, in the last chapter covering the early 1970s, he details the Conservative strategy of confrontation and shows how well-prepared, militant action defeated this strategy. He explicitly recognises that either the TUC must be led by the left or it must surrender the original purposes of trade unionism. As the movement is unlikely to surrender its purpose he concludes that either a (left) government must fundamentally alter the goals of economic policy or the management of the economy will 'remain a very imperfect exercise'.

DAVID GREEN

Marxism in United States History Before the Russian Revolution 1876-1917

Oakley C. Johnson

Humanities Press, 196 pp, available on order from Collet's

THE VIOLENT reaction of the American ruling class toward radical ideas and movements—from the days of the infamous Palmer raids and mass deportations in the early twenties, Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, Scotsboro, the trial and imprisonment of the leaders of the Communist Party, to the McCarthy era—are well known and documented. What is less well documented is the persuasive appeal and impact that the writings of Marx had in the US in the period up to the Russian revolution.

After 12 years' research Oakley C. Johnson has compiled a history of the influence of Marx on American social, economic and political life during the four decades prior to the first successful proletarian revolution. Edited by the noted Marxist scholar, Dr Herbert Aptheker, the volume traces the influence of Marx on the American working class movement in particular and American politics in general, and conversely the great interest Marx took in developments in the United States.

Because of the long period covered, over forty years, the book of necessity is a sketchy history of important individuals, organisations and movements that gravitated toward the ideas of Marx.

As the author points out it was the Utopian socialist ideas of men like Fourier in France and Owen the English philanthropist which were popular before Marx. The ideas of these men, particularly Robert Owen, were extensively tried out in the US. Writing in *Vorwärts* in 1844 Marx stated: 'Socialism and communism did not originate in Germany but in France, England and the United States.' The early contribution to Marxism by individuals and movements in the US is important. That is why this small, compact well-documented history is so welcome.

It is recorded, for example, that the US was the second country in the world to have a political party based on the writings of Marx. This was the Workingmen's Party of the United States. It was organised one year after the formation of the German Social Democratic Party, seven years before Plekhanov set up the first Marxist organisation in tsarist Russia, and five years before the organisation of the Social Democratic Federation in England led by Henry M. Hyndman. In 1872, the fourth congress of the First International, held at Basel, decided to transfer its head office to

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the US. This proposal was made by both Marx and Engels.

Johnson makes it clear that he does not want to exaggerate the importance of Marxism in the US but rather to show the significance of Marx's influence in every aspect of social, economic and political life. This he achieves skilfully by a compartmentalised approach with separate chapters on trade unionism, Negro freedom, women's rights, the church, youth and reform legislation.

The chapter on reform legislation, for instance, outlines the initiative by the followers of Marx in the mass struggles for the eight hour day which led to the passage of eight hour laws in many state legislatures. The mass, turbulent demonstrations on May 1, 1886, in every industrial city in the US inaugurated May 1 as the universally recognised, world-wide day of revolutionary international working class solidarity. It is worth noting that four of the leaders of the eight hour movement, Parsons, Spies, Fisher and Engel, were later hanged in the notorious Haymarket frame-up. It is also worth noting that the early women's rights movement gave birth to March 8 as International Women's Day.

While the chapters on specialist fields, women, youth, church, etc, are an impressive who's who of the early socialist pioneers, the main emphasis of the study is on the mass political movement and parties: the Workingmen's Party, the Socialist Labour Party led by Daniel De Leon, the Knights of Labour, the Socialist Party led by Eugene Debs and the Industrial Workers of the World (the Wobblies).

The author does not attempt to distinguish between the varied interpretations of Marx made by groups or individuals but rather the general significance of his theories on all aspects of American life. As he explains in his preface: 'My thesis is that Marxism, although a minor factor in our history (that is, before 1917) was nevertheless a significant one.'

There are plenty of books that deal with some of the personalities and movements covered by this volume but this is the first that puts together hundreds of personalities in a dozen specialised fields as well as the main political trends that were influenced by the founder of scientific socialism. It is a small volume but rich in fascinating historical information.

CHARLIE DOYLE

The Soviet Health Service

Gordon Hyde

Lawrence & Wishart, 352 pp, £6

GORDON HYDE has attempted to provide, in a short and readable book, an account of the development of health services in the USSR from 1917 to the present day. He describes the emphases in health care that characterise Soviet medical practice: the eradication of infectious diseases, the direction of the health care system towards industrial needs, the relationship of the development of medical services to military requirements. Throughout the text the author makes comparisons with the development of the National Health Service in this country.

There is a large amount of data about parameters of health care, but unfortunately much of the information is insufficient to allow proper comparisons between the Soviet and British health services. Despite this, a number of features of the Soviet health service stand out from the accumulated information. Most obvious is the enormous scope of the health care system, and the effort needed to construct an effective health care edifice from nothing to

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the present level. The roles of planning and of mass campaigning against disease with involvement of local democratic institutions on a wide scale are in marked contrast to British practice. The success in controlling 'social diseases'—in particular venereal diseases—is a specific example of mass involvement in health care and, whilst the author correctly points out that similar success in dealing with alcoholism has not been achieved, the principle of popular involvement is one that we could usefully learn. Children's health in the USSR has an impressively high priority, whilst in the field of psychiatry the Soviet health service seems to have pursued a strangely inconsistent policy.

The book also raises interesting points about medical professionalism both during the inception of the medical service and now. A more detailed study of how Soviet health workers are organised and how the doctor stands in relation to other workers would be useful to the medical left in this country.

STEVE ILIFFE

Britain's Developing Constitution

Peter Bromhead

Allen & Unwin, 228 pp, £4.50

IT IS A WELL-KNOWN fact that the constitution of England and Wales is enshrined in the common and statute law or in Orders in Council. Unlike other constitutions, it does not exist in any corporate isolated shape, it is only written in part, is constantly growing and is therefore flexible. Professor Bromhead has commenced with this basic fact and has sought to illustrate the extent of development which is still taking place as the work of the state expands and finds fresh embodiments in new statute law or evolving conventions. He follows the old conventional divisions of the subject and discusses such questions as the change in Tory methods of selecting leadership and therefore possibly choosing a new prime minister, the growth in the creation of offices of state, the drawing of the terms of cabinet government more strictly or the changing background to elections. It will prove a useful book for the student to read side by side with Dicey and other authorities when the subject is approached in a conventional way.

Even at this level, it would be possible to point out many weaknesses so far as development is concerned. Cabinet membership is limited strictly by the application of the Official Secrets Act. The power of the House of Lords has been clipped but it is still a non-elected second chamber in which an hereditary group can still exercise influence. There is a serious weakness over the control of funds voted by the House of Commons, for the Public Accounts Committee can only operate after the money has been spent. Such legislation as the Industrial Relations Act illustrates the powerlessness of the common law when a reactionary majority in the House of Commons has overridden it with a new statute. Private members' bills are usually highly unlikely to get very far along their way and the private member is still in a relatively powerless position. Much could be said about the choice of parliamentary candidates, the question of election costs or the manner in which Tory legislators have sought to secure party advantage out of these constitutional arrangements. Such are some of the weaknesses which have appeared within the growth of a flexible constitution.

But Professor Bromhead does not deal with the fundamental weakness. A constitution reflects the governmental and social policies served by the

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ruling class within the state. The developing constitution is developing rapidly but it is nonetheless developing in the interest of property, capital, the multinational groupings, private profit, in short the various interrelated interests of the capitalist state. One of the greatest lessons of Professor Bromhead's book is the unstated one obvious to the Marxist that a socialist state demands a socialist constitution and that constitutional developments in England and Wales should be illustrations of activity which drive home this fact.

F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT

Newcastle and District Trades Council 1873-1973

Frank Graham, 70 pp, 70p

ONE OF THE WEAK features within the trades councils in the smaller towns, and indeed some of the larger ones, is the lack of understanding by many trade unionists of the role and need for trades councils within present society. As a secretary of a trades council myself, I was therefore gratified to receive a copy of this centenary history. It gives the answer to both the student and more important the new delegate to a local trades council to the oft-repeated question: 'Why trades councils?'

Although a little late in getting off the ground compared to some other trades councils (1873), it was born like most others through struggles of the day, and unlike some modern trades councils it became aware of the need for involvement in political matters. The booklet gives a picture of what it was like during the years of depression 1918-39, and deals with the war years and after. There is also reproduced a copy of the *Workers' Chronicle* for May 10, 1926, which was issued by the Newcastle (Trades) Council of Action.

This history, with its superb cover, can help many in the movement, as well as those outside, to appreciate far more deeply what trades councils are all about. It would be well worth the investment for any trades council to get copies of this to help in the broadstream of trade union education.

RAY JONES
Secretary, Northamptonshire County Association of Trades Councils

Artery

Edited by Jeff Sawtell, 40 pp, 20p.

THIS CULTURAL journal of the left takes up at length in its seventh issue the question of Soviet dissidents in its own field, particularly Solzhenitsyn, the Panovs and, in passing, the question of Zionism. It republishes (from *Modern Quarterly,* January 1938) F. D. Klingender's outstanding 'Realism and Fantasy in the Art of Goya'; gives a profile of John Heartfield by Paul Roper; a memorial article on D. A. Siqueiros by Andrew Turner, and an account of revolutionary songs by John Miller. Andrew Rothstein reviews a Czechoslovak film about the road to Munich in 1938, *Days of Betrayal.*

C.M.

BRING BACK, BRING BACK

The *Labour Monthly* office is always glad to receive old copies of the journal to help make up sets for bound volumes. We are on the look-out for copies for the years 1921-36, 1940-43, 1945-49, 1954, 1957, 1960 and 1962-66. Please send any you can spare to our office at 134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD.

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TO REACH NEW READERS

THAT good engine—our fund—kept chugging away reliably during December, with a burst of added strength when a spate of subscription renewals brought accompanying 'extras' of 40p or £1.40 to make up the £3.60 subscription to a round £4 or £5. We are especially grateful to those fund supporters who have been making sure they have sent in a contribution for this page and then adding a special donation for our fund in memory of RPD. Our Editorial Board are determined that *LM* will be carried forward to continue its service in the labour movement, and our fund contributors and subscribers have been the first to show that this is their concern too.

Part of the business end of such an undertaking is to ensure that the journal is sold at more meetings and conferences in the trade union calendar this year. Last year's great success in this field lay in the involvement of more volunteers selling the journal at each event, with a multitude of small parcels being taken to the best-covered meeting—September's TUC.

We look forward to an extension of this effort in 1975 into summer schools, sectional and regional conferences. We would like help with this from trade union officials, shop stewards, youth and women's organisers, who can give us advance warning. A note to our office, giving dates and places, is what we need to enable us to reach many more new readers.

Our December fund total reached:

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